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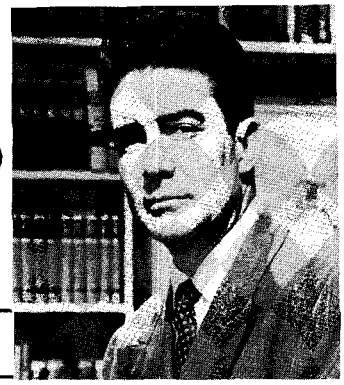

DAN SMOOT

THE EDIFICE OF LIBERTY

"But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished Government? Who shall rear again the well-proportioned columns of constitutional liberty? Who shall frame together the skillful architecture which unites national sovereignty with State rights, individual security, and public prosperity? No, if these columns fall, they will be raised not again. Like the Colosseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful, a melancholy immortality. Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them, than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw, the edifice of constitutional American liberty.

Daniel Webster, 1832

On June 23, 1963, a "special feature" edition of *The Worker* (official newspaper of the communist party in the United States) presented a policy statement called "United People's Action For Peace, Democracy and Social Progress." The statement was written by Gus Hall, head of the U. S. communist party.

Hall praised both the foreign and domestic policies of President Kennedy. He also had a word of praise for the Eisenhower-Kuchel wing of the Republican Party, but said "ultra-right" influences in the Republican Party are "riding roughshod" over the moderating influence of such a Republican as former President Eisenhower. He said that Senator Thomas Kuchel's fight against the ultra-right deserves the support of communists, but concluded that, despite the efforts of men like Kuchel, the ultra conservatives had pushed the Republican Party to the right. Explaining that, on the other hand, "most of the broad people's movements are in the orbit of the Democratic Party," Hall urged all leftwing forces in the United States to unify and coordinate their activities toward the goal of electing Kennedy Democrats and defeating Republicans in 1964 — and for the task of exerting continuous leftwing pressures on Kennedy and Congress, to offset conservative pressures. Hall praised the ADA (Americans For Democratic Action) for its role as coordinator of leftwing groups, but said the ADA can no longer perform that service effectively, because the ADA is so closely identified with the Kennedy administration.

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Benjamin Davis (negro, second highest official of the communsit party in the United States) issued a supplement to Gus Hall's policy statement.[1] Davis outlined the communist party's current civil rights program, which is basically the same as President Kennedy's proposed Civil Rights Act of 1963, except for one proposal: the communists want the federal government to declare state governments in the South illegal, and then to hold "free elections . . . guaranteed by the federal power."

One fascinating aspect of Gus Hall's political policy statement was a bitter attack on New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Hall castigated Rockefeller for his "close chumminess" with Senator Barry Goldwater, and for his "alliance" with "fanatical ultra-right" forces in the Republican Party. Rockefeller's reaction to this communist criticism is also fascinating. On July 14, 1963, Rockefeller denounced Barry Goldwater and the "ultra-right" forces in the Republican Party, saying that these forces are ruining the Party.[2]

The communist program of supporting Kennedy and opposing Republicans; of coordinating leftwing forces for attack on rightwingers and for pressures on Washington officialdom; of supporting a civil rights program to intensify racial tensions and spread chaos — these are strategic maneuvers by which communists hope to achieve their long-range objective: destruction of the American constitutional system. Gus Hall states the objective in these terms:

"The doctrine of states rights . . . . is nothing more than a smokescreen to cover up the evils of special rights for privilege groups. It has become an instrument for nullifying the Constitution in large sections of the country, and a sanctuary for the bigoted Dixiecrats and the ultra-right elements.

"States rights is an instrument of the anti-labor monopolies. There are now twenty states that have passed right-to-work laws. States rights provides dozens of havens for tax-dodging monopolies and financial manipulators . . . .

"What is needed is a new Federal charter and a new addition to the Bill of Rights. What is needed is a system of basic federal laws that will unify and revitalize all of our democratic institutions, laws that will apply and supersede all state laws in these areas . . . . "

Hall says the "new federal charter" (that is, *Constitution*) should contain provisions eliminating all state and local authority to legislate or operate in the fields of taxation, voter registration, voting practices, apportionment of electoral districts. The communists want a national constitution which will authorize *uniform federal* traffic, marriage, and divorce laws; create a national school system; limit the power of local and state police to act against mob action "whether on a picket line or a demonstration."

Abolishing States Rights

As long as the power of the federal government was limited to constitutional specifications, and that limited power divided among three rival branches of government; and as long as the primary powers of government were dispersed among competing state governments, there was no one great center of power for socialist-communist (or other) conspirators to seize.

Hence, abolishing the American federal system in favor of a centralized absolutism has been an essential feature of the communist plan for many years. To that end, communists have supported every program of federal aid and intervention in state affairs, and all federal subsidies and controls in private activities, because all such programs (while stretching the Constitution until it has no meaning) centralize, in Washington, power and responsibility which have been taken away from state and local governments.

There is nothing new about a communist demand, in 1963, that the American governmental system be transformed into dictatorship like that of the Soviet Union. The significant thing is that American political leaders who have great

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power and influence in the federal government are now demanding the same.

Compare Gus Hall's denunciation of states rights, quoted above, with the following passages from a statement by Joseph S. Clark (Democrat), United States Senator from Pennsylvania:

"We have inherited from our forefathers a governmental structure which so divides power that effective dealing with economic problems is cumbersome. Local, state, and national governments each have their responsibility in housing and urban renewal, in the appropriate uses of water, in transportation, labor-management relations, and education.

"At each level, responsibility for appropriate action is divided between the executive and the legislative, with the judiciary prepared to step in at a moment's notice to declare unconstitutional whatever action the other two may decide upon. Under the circumstances, it is extraordinary how much we accomplish under forms of government heavily weighted against any kind of action . . . .

"Of course, inaction is what the Founding Fathers intended — inaction until such time as an overwhelming consensus was prepared for action . . . . They were right in their day. But they are wrong in ours . . . .

"State government is the weakest link in the chain . . . .

"Whether we look at city councils, the state legislatures, or the Congress of the United States, we react to what we see with scarcely concealed contempt . . . . This is where . . . political lag keeps needed action a generation behind the times, where the nineteenth century still reigns supreme in committees, where ignorance is often at a premium and wisdom at a discount . . . .

"I have no hesitation in stating my deep conviction that the legislatures of America, local, state, and national, are presently the greatest menace to the successful operation of the democratic process . . . . The executive should be strengthened at the expense of the legislature."[3]

Senator Clark displays a considerable amount of that ignorance which he deplores in the legislative branch. Farmers are harassed and jailed for trying to farm their own land as free men; businessmen are forced to serve as unpaid tax collectors for the federal government; schools and colleges are forced to do the will of Washington officialdom — yet, Senator Clark says he does not know of one example of the "heavy hand of the federal government reaching out into our private lives." He concludes, therefore, that "federal control" which haunts conservatives is nothing but "an hallucination," and that "we need not fear executive tyranny in this country merely because the legislature is more responsive to executive recommendations."

Though displaying an ignorance typical of all totalitarian liberals, Senator Clark does speak with more candor than most. Whereas other totalitarians pretend to be liberals of the Jeffersonian kind, Senator Clark admits that his "liberalism" is diametrically opposed to the classic liberalism of Thomas Jefferson. Senator Clark says:

"Surely we have reached the point where we can say . . . that Jefferson was wrong: that government is *not* best which governs least . . . . The fallacy in Jefferson's argument is the assumption that the expansion of government leads to the curtailment of individual freedoms. This is just not true."

Senator Clark is right in saying that the Constitution was designed to produce inaction in the federal government — inaction in all fields where there is no grant of power for federal action; and inaction even within the limits of constitutionally granted power, unless there be real need and general desire for action. It is interesting to note Thomas Jefferson's own attitude about strengthening the federal government so that it can "act." In his Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801, President Jefferson said:

"I know, indeed, that some honest men fear . . . that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the

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theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not . . . . Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? . . . Let history answer this question."

Dictatorship of The Elite

Senator Clark's statements, above, are taken from a paper he prepared for a two-day convocation in New York, during January, 1963, under the auspices of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, an agency of the Fund for the Republic. Speakers at the convocation discussed the topic: "The Electorate and the Elite — Is Government by the People Possible?"[3]

Senator J. William Fulbright (Democrat, Arkansas, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) was the principal speaker at the convocation. Fulbright said:

"The question before us can be answered simply: government by the people is possible but highly improbable. . . . The case for government by elites is irrefutable insofar as it rests on the need for expert and specialized knowledge."

Fulbright makes it clear that he considers himself among the elite qualified to govern. He repeats the main theme of a speech he made to the Cubberly Conference at Stanford University on July 28, 1961, when he said that the "President is hobbled . . . by the restrictions of power imposed on him by a constitutional system designed for an 18th Century agrarian society."[4] Since, according to Fulbright, the people are incapable of knowing what is good for them, and since the President is hobbled by the Constitution, Fulbright feels that we should change our Constitution so that the President can do as he pleases, especially in all matters relating to foreign policy.

Fulbright concedes that Congress is capable of shaping policy in domestic matters, but he shares Senator Clark's contempt for the effectiveness of Congress in foreign affairs. Fulbright says:

"Presidential authority is incommensurate with Presidential responsibility as a result of the diffusion of power between executive and legislative branches, and within the latter.

"The foreign policy powers of Congress under the Constitution . . . . are widely dispersed within Congress among autonomous committees, each under a chairman who owes little if anything in the way of political obligation to the President.

"The defects of Congress as an institution reflect the defects of classical democratic thought . . . . The frequency of elections and the local orientation of party organizations . . . do not encourage serious and sustained study of international relations. Congressmen are acutely susceptible to local and regional pressures and to the waves of fear and emotion that sometimes sweep over public opinion . . . . Public opinion must be educated and led if it is to bolster a wise and effective foreign policy. This is preeminently a task for Presidential leadership, because the Presidential office is the only one under our constitutional system that constitutes a forum for moral and political leadership on a national scale. Accordingly, I think that we must contemplate the further enhancement of Presidential authority in foreign affairs."[3]

The President's role of moral leadership is not, incidentally, assigned by the spirit or provisions of our Constitution or by the laws of our land. When did our nation, under God, become dependent upon its leading *politician* for *moral* guidance?

Fulbright says that the people should, in some unspecified way, set the "basic goals" and make the "fundamental moral judgments" that "shape the life of our society"; and the people should elect a President, and some legislators who will do what the President demands. There the power and responsibility of the people should end. The President (with the help of other experts, both elected and appointed) should have unlimited and unsupervised authority to do anything the President deems necessary to achieve the "basic

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goals" and implement the "moral judgments" of the people. At intervals, the people (if dissatisfied with the President they have) could elect another one. The desire thus to change Presidents, in the Fulbright system, would probably never arise, however, because, according to Fulbright, the President, while in office, would have absolute control of all the resources of society to educate and lead the people in deciding what their basic goals are, and in providing moral leadership to help the people make their moral judgments.

The plans of both Senator Fulbright and Senator Clark would abolish the national Congress as a genuine legislative body, letting it remain as a perfunctory symbol of representative government. State and local governments would also be abolished as meaningful political entities. They would exist merely as symbolic, or administrative, sub-agencies of the presidential establishment.

The dictatorship of an expert elite, which Senators Clark and Fulbright desire for the United States, is, in essence, identical with the governmental system envisioned by communist Gus Hall's platform for a "new federal charter" — identical with what is called, in the Soviet Union, a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Amendment by Usurpation

Senators Clark and Fulbright recognize the American Constitution as an obstacle to all-powerful government. Thus, they imply that the people must change the Constitution (presumably by due constitutional process) before a dictatorship of the elite can be established.

President Kennedy (who also wants a dictatorship of the expert elite), believes, however, that the meaning of our Constitution can be stretched and twisted, by governmental officials, to "authorize" whatever action officialdom pleases.

On August 28, 1961, President Kennedy spoke at the White House to students who were working for the government in Washington during summer vacation. The President said:

"There is some feeling, I know, by a good many Americans, that the American Constitution . . . guides our way, and that all we have to do is follow the very clear precepts it lays down for us.

"Well, the American Constitution is an extraordinary document . . . but it has required men to make it work . . . . After all, the Constitution was written for an entirely different period in our nation's history. It was written under entirely different conditions. It was written during a period of isolation. It was written at a time when there were thirteen different units which had to be joined together and which, of course, were extremely desirous of limiting the central power of government.

"That Constitution has served us extremely well, but . . . it has to be made to work today in an entirely different world from the day in which it was written."[5]

Robert F. Kennedy (Attorney General) has echoed the President's attitude — namely, that the Constitution, a great thing in its time, is now to be revered as a relic of the past, being presently useful only as "an inspiration and a guide" for the "common sense" decisions that must be made concerning the "moral issues" of our time.

In a speech at Independence Hall on June 21, 1963, commemorating the 175th Anniversary of the Ratification of the Constitution, Robert Kennedy wrenched out of context some Washington and Jefferson quotes to show that even the Founding Fathers regarded the Constitution as an imperfect document intended only as a broad statement of general principles, and not as a binding contract of government.[6]

The Kennedys are either deceiving themselves, or trying to deceive others. President George Washington warned the nation that it would betray its own destiny if it did not abide by the specific precepts and provisions of the Constitution as written. Washington anticipated that por-

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tions of the Constitution might, in time, become unsuitable or inadequate, but counseled the people never, for any reason, to permit alteration of the Constitution by reinterpretation or usurpation. If the Constitution needs to be changed, the change must be made by the people, through due constitutional process, and not by *any* governmental officials whose sworn duty is to *uphold* the Constitution.

Madison, principal author of the Constitution, and Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, also held that the Constitution must be regarded as a binding contract of government, to be obeyed strictly in all its parts.

The agents of government (whether elected or appointed; whether holding the office of President or the job of clerk) are hired by the electorate to implement and administer the provisions of the Constitution, not to reinterpret or change them. If the Constitution can be changed, through interpretation or usurpation, by the agents of government, we do not have constitutional government. We have government at the whim of those in power — which is dictatorship.

In a private letter, written on August 13, 1800, Thomas Jefferson explained the genius of our federal system:

"Our country is too large to have all its affairs directed by a single government. Public servants at such a distance, and from under the eye of their constituents, must, from the circumstance of distance, be unable to administer and overlook all the details necessary for the good government of the citizens, and the same circumstance, by rendering detection impossible to their constituents, will invite the public agents to corruption, plunder and waste.

"And I do verily believe, that if the principle were to prevail, of a common law being in force in the United States (which principle possesses the General Government at once of all the powers of the State governments, and reduces us to a single consolidated government), it would become the most corrupt government on the earth . . . . What an augmentation of the field for jobbing, speculating, plundering, office-building and office-hunting would be produced by an assumption of all the State powers into the hands of the General Government!

"The true theory of our Constitution is surely the wisest and best, that the States are independent as to everything within themselves, and united as to everything respecting foreign nations. Let the General Government be reduced to foreign concerns only, and let our affairs be disentangled from those of all other nations, except as to commerce which the merchants will manage the better, and more they are left free to manage for themselves, and our General Government may be reduced to a very simple organization, and a very inexpensive one; a few plain duties to be performed by a few servants."

Where We Are

The "true theory of our Constitution" is an eternal truth, as applicable today as it was in the 18th Century. The "corruption, plunder, and waste" which our "public agents" have brought about by centralizing unconstitutional power in the hands of Washington officialdom are the results which Jefferson anticipated — but on a more stupendous scale than Jefferson ever imagined.

Who among the early patriots — or among any generation of Americans prior to the present — *could* have imagined that American governmental officials would ever plunder the people for corrupt and wasteful programs of aiding foreign dictators who are enemies of our nation?

Something else that earlier American patriots did not fully anticipate: a treacherous cowardice, or sickness, so prevalent among the intellectual and political leaders of America that they want to abandon the national independence which our forefathers won with blood and valorous devotion to high ideals!

Note the President of the United States on Independence Day, 1962, saying that we must now abandon the ideal of national independence for the ideal of interdependence with other na-

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tions. Note the President repeating that idea in a speech at Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, on June 25, 1963, telling Europeans that Americans will risk destruction of their own cities to defend Europe, because America cannot survive without European help.[7]

Note Walt Whitman Rostow (now Chairman of the State Department Policy Planning Board) saying:

"It is, therefore, an American interest to see an end of nationhood as it has been historically defined."[8]

Note Walter Millis (in a formal study which cost American taxpayers $20,000 and which was prepared for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) arguing for the necessity of a world so "completely policed" by an international army that such uprisings as the American Revolution of 1776 would be suppressed, "as was the Hungarian Revolution, with all the global forces of law and order cooperating." Millis said:

"One cannot resist the conclusion that there must be a supranational autonomous police power, with veto-free sources of revenue . . . solely responsible to a supranational political authority."[8]

It matters little whether the plan was conceived by our own leaders for well-intentioned, but mistaken, reasons; or whether someone is deliberately manipulating decisions to follow a communist plan. The fact is that our nation is following a plan which has been in the communist blueprint for world conquest for almost half a century: first, overthrow of the American constitutional system and establishment of some form of American dictatorship; then, subordination of the American dictatorship to a world-wide dictatorship.

We are very near to what Daniel Webster referred to as demolition of the glorious edifice of constitutional American liberty.

Hope

Next year, we shall have one more opportunity for peaceful solution at the polls: *We should vote out of office every politician who supports ANY major portion of the Kennedy Administration's policies, either domestic or foreign.*

Have You Seen This?

In 1912, Israel Cohen, a leading communist in England, outlined what he called "A Racial Program For The 20th Century." Cohen said:

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Born in Missouri, reared in Texas, Dan Smoot went to SMU in Dallas, getting BA and MA degrees in 1938 and 1940. In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for a doctorate in American Civilization.

In 1942, he left Harvard and joined the FBI. As an FBI Agent, he worked for three and a half years on communist investigations in the industrial Midwest; two years as an administrative assistant to J. Edgar Hoover on FBI headquarters staff in Washington; and almost four years on general FBI cases in various parts of the nation.

In 1951, Smoot resigned from the FBI and helped start Facts Forum. On Facts Forum radio and television programs, Smoot spoke to a national audience, giving *both* sides of controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his present independent publishing and broadcasting business — a free-enterprise operation financed entirely by profits from sales: sales of *The Dan Smoot Report,* a weekly magazine; and sales of a weekly news-analysis broadcast, to business firms, for use on radio and television as an advertising vehicle. The *Report* and the broadcast give only *one* side in presenting documented truth about important issues — the side that uses the American Constitution as a yardstick. The *Report* is available by subscription; and the broadcasts are available for commercial sponsorship, anywhere in the United States.

If you think Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for Americans fighting socialism and communism, you can help immensely — by helping him get more customers for his *Report* and broadcasts.

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"We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mould them to the program of the Communist Party. In America we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige, the Negro will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."[9]

FOOTNOTES

(1) "A United People's Action Program for Freedom Now!" by Benjamin J. Davis, *The Worker*, June 23, 1963, pp. 3, 11

(2) "Rockefeller Criticizes Goldwater Strategy," AP dispatch from Albany, N. Y., *The Dallas Morning News*, July 15, 1963, Section 1, p. 2

(3) *The Elite and the Electorate*, by Joseph S. Clark, J. William Fulbright, Pierre Mendes-France, Robert C. Weaver, and others; The Fund for the Republic, Inc., 1963

(4) Excerpts from Cubberly Conference speeches in *Stanford Today*, Stanford University, Autumn, 1961

(5) "President's Talk to the Student Internes," *The New York Times*, August 29, 1962, p. 14

(6) Text of speech by Robert Kennedy at Independence Hall, Department of Justice Press Release, June 21, 1963

(7) "Kennedy Strongly Gives Case for Europe Unity," by Robert E. Baskin, *The Dallas Morning News*, June 26, 1963, Section 1, p. 1

(8) "Red Collapse A 'Catastrophe,'" by Edith Kermit Roosevelt, Extension of Remarks of U. S. Senator Strom Thurmond (Democrat, South Carolina), *Congressional Record*, June 6, 1963, pp. A3662-3

(9) *Congressional Record*, June 7, 1957, p. 7633

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WHAT YOU CAN DO

Washington officialdom uses your taxes for programs that are creating vast cesspools of waste and corruption — and dragging our Republic into the quicksands of socialism. What can you do about it?

You can help educate and arouse the people who elect men responsible for harmful programs of government. When enough other Americans know and care as you do, political action to restore our Republic will come.

If *The Dan Smoot Report* was instrumental in bringing you to the point of asking what *you* can do about saving the country from mushrooming big government, here is a checklist for you: Have you urged others to subscribe to the *Report?* Have you sent them reprints of a particular issue of the *Report?* Have you shown them a Dan Smoot film? Have you ever suggested a Bound Volume of *The Dan Smoot Report* for use by speakers, debaters, students, writers? Have you read and passed on to others any of the Dan Smoot books — *The Invisible Government, The Hope Of The World, America's Promise?*

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